/347 cont./

796 • 831 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur, in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56),

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] * [192] It will be enough to cite the following episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

4: Silva--527 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/349 cont./

/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wĩx-tĩye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã́, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

765 /377 cont./
53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c)) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
• 831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1)). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/384 cont./

c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

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*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, wõãkĩse, wõãkahĩse, yõãsé or ñõãsé (108).

108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

836 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

833 *[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mĩ-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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/387 cont./

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At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

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In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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582 /387 cont./

797 /footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian
836 Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help
[847] of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

• 831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/388 cont./

• 831
[797]

/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ɨ, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122).

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these circumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in
831 connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/389 cont./

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d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] [581] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] [593] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

• 831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/389 cont./

831 291 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 838 839 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé, pa-daresé, dará-ỹãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),

123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã-se'saró) (124)

124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

and female (nũ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandó, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens. Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex, but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi* (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash, melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1923, II, 89). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned 571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Buhüküwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihŕdü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left orphaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintūrū* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paínwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[1] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucáno the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[1] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831
825 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
773 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831
826 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
[833] have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much [302] trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[1] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[1] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *puá*, and armpit hair is *puá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.[8] The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwänuw* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Bwü* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Bwü* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Bwü*.-However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years.

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

[8] It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely.

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates.

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

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574 576 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the 574 576 formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has 273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 576 182 796 [765] [831] This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately manner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by subsidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the [276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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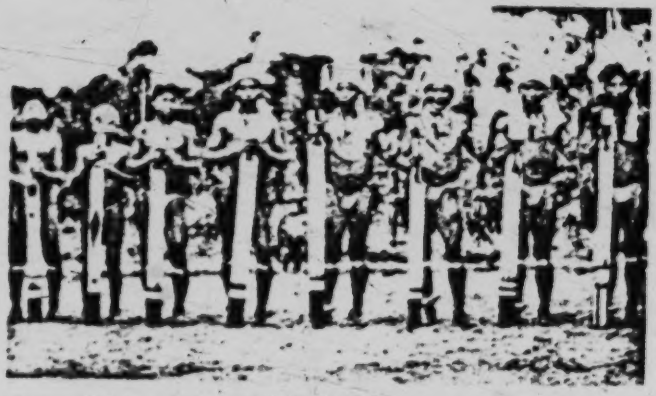

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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574 535 831 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 535 [533] There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connotations of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic character of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisition of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dùpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dùpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dùpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dùpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The
[534] jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, however, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure.

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjíko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping.

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*.

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out—one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs.

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among

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536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abūhukū* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked
831 dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
786 *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
535 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The [887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young [152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the
765 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of
182 sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one,
152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis-
831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con-
786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against
535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises. The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowũ* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *dyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjiko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kaapaindúwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjú marié kenadjú pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit relationship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary complement to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the sociocultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
(578) Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
(182) plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo (857) culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
• 831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal (562) discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
(562) status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
(554) cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry